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ABSTRACT

Chicano Spanish is not only a product of two languages, but also the influence of middle-class environment and immediate realities. These realities are much different from those in Mexico, even though they derive from it, having a strong relationship to all factors that constitute social level and status. Three principal dialects are: Tex-Mex, spoken in Texas; Manito, spoken in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado; and Calo, spoken in California. Chicano Spanish is not something to be ignored; it's the mother tongue of several million Chicanos and their only link to their culture. When teachers know what makes Chicanos tick, where they're coming from, they can be much more effective in improving the educational level of Chicanos. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 brought about a rash of crash programs to educate children in two languages. Because the Chicano spoke broken English and/or had a Spanish surname, it was assumed the language they were comfortable with was Spanish; no real assessment was made. Bilingual teachers must know who the student is, their knowledge level of Spanish, and the type of Spanish used. Every child speaks the language of the family and community; therefore, family and community must be involved in bilingual education. (AH)

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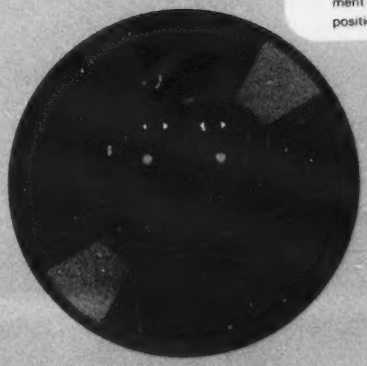

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LANGUAGE OF THE CHICANO

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LANGUAGE OF THE CHICANO*

Leodoro Hernández

> Bestow great attention on Spanish and endeavor to acquire an accurate knowledge of it. Our future connections with Spain and Spanish America will render that language of valuable acquisition. The ancient history of that part of America, too, is written in that language. I am sending you a dictionary. (The above was written by Thomas Jefferson in a letter to his nephew, Peter Carr, in 1787. National Education Association, cover page, 1966)
>
> For a young child his language is an expression of his self-concept. Its meanings carry all of the implications of home, family, and love. To a child's mind, language is the soul of his thoughts and feelings, it is the door to his world. To reject his language is to reject him. Who of us can stand up to the constant rejection of those whom we seek to please? Who? (Escobedo, 1974, p. 4)

This paper could as well have been titled, "The Language of the Chicano and What it is Not." The Spanish of Chicanos varies with each individual; these variants are on a continuum from standard Spanish to Standard English with "a whole lot in between."

I will not presume to know or write about other members of *La Raza* such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans, *Manitos*, or Mexicans.

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*This paper appeared as Chapter 3 of the book, *A Textbook for Bilingual Teachers* by Leodoro Hernández, which was prepared in lieu of a dissertation at the University of Northern Colorado, 1976. The author is not a linguist nor a language professor. He is a bilingual professor who feels that dialects are legitimate and should be respected by classroom teachers.

It is up to each group to write about its own people. These groups can no longer tolerate other ethnic groups' writing about them without knowing them first hand. History has neglected the Chicano, and this must not continue.

However, some of my research can be used by other *Latinos* who can relate it to themselves. For example, Puerto Ricans in New York can substitute the word Chicano for Puerto Rican and some of this research would apply.

The following chart gives an idea of the possible effects language development can have on a child. It is by no means all inclusive, but it is a guide for teachers as they attempt to determine the language of the Chicano. This paper is a guide and it in no way implies set rules, definitions, or philosophies, otherwise we would fall into the trap of stereotyping.

The chart shows the language of the Chicano as it progresses through the seventh grade and how it compares to the Anglo and Mexican (in Mexico) student. It also shows how language development relates to the Traditional, Duo-traditional, and the Atraditional Chicano. (The chart was developed from a class taught by Dr. José Cordova, University of Northern Colorado, July, 1975.)

The chart is a good rationale for the establishment of bilingual education because the Traditional Chicano can learn English, the Duo-Traditional Chicano can increase his/her level of proficiency in Spanish and catch up with peers in the level of English, and the Atraditional student can learn Spanish.

The teacher or professor of "standard" Spanish (one seldom knows what "standard" means) has a difficult task because citi-

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF SOME CHICANO CHILDREN

Anglo or Atraditional	Chicano or Duo-Traditional	Mexican (from Mexico) or Traditional Chicano
Enters Kindergarten knowing five years of English.	Enters Kindergarten knowing five years of Spanish, and perhaps some English.	Enters Kindergarten knowing five years of Spanish.
First Grade: has an understanding of six years of English.	Is expected to learn English in one year. Maintains five years of Spanish knowledge.	Knows six years of Spanish. The Traditional knows six years of Spanish.
Second Grade: knows seven years of English.	Second Grade: knows five years of Spanish, two years of English.	Second Grade: knows seven years of Spanish. The Traditional maintains six years of Spanish.
Third Grade: knows eight years of English.	Third Grade: knows three years of English, and maybe retrogressed to four years of Spanish, but could maintain five years.	Third Grade: knows eight years of Spanish. The Traditional maintains six years of Spanish.
Fourth Grade: knows nine years of English.	Fourth Grade: four years of English, and will maintain the level of Spanish that will depend on his/her parents and community.	Fourth Grade: nine years of Spanish. The Traditional will maintain the level of Spanish that will depend on his/her parents and community.
Seventh Grade: knows 12 years of English.	Seventh Grade: may know seven years of English, and maybe has forgotten all his/her Spanish, but at most will retain five years of Spanish. The Spanish retained is the first five years of his/her life with the possibility of learning more Spanish as the child grows older and gains experience. The experience can teach him standard Pochismos, Tex-Mex, Caló, etc.	Seventh Grade: 12 years of Spanish. The Traditional could be at the same place as the Duo-Traditional child.

zens of each Latin American country feel that their version of Spanish is the best, and they are very particular about how their Spanish is used. Educators may be correct in their teaching of the language, but many times they mar a child's psychological self-concept because they put the child in conflict with his/her parents. For instance, in Colorado, a child comes to school late and the teacher asks the child, "Why are you late?" (*¿Por qué llegaste tarde?*) The child answers, "*Porqué no hayaba mis sobrechuses*"--*sobrechuses* being overshoes. The teacher says, "There is no such word as '*sobrechuses*,' the proper term is '*chanclo*' or '*zapato de goma*.'"

The child has always heard his/her parents, grandparents, and community members say "*sobrechuses*." The child now develops some doubt about his/her family and the community where he/she resides. Moreover, the terms "*chanclos*" and "*zapatos de goma*" just don't seem like the right terms for what is meant. *Appleton's New Cuyás English-Spanish and Spanish-English Dictionary* (Cuyás, 1972) is confusing because it defines "overshoes" as "*chanclos*" or "*zapatos de goma*." Yet, if one were to look up "*chanclos*" in the dictionary, it is not there. If one looks for "*zapatos de goma*" in the same dictionary one can't find the term, but under the term "*zapatos papales*" one finds overshoes. Overshoes can also be found under "*zapatón*" as is used in Columbia. But again, "*zapatos de goma*" and "*chanclo*" are not listed.

Imagine what parents will think when they are told by the child, "The teacher says that you are using bad Spanish because there is no such word as '*sobrechuses*.' They are called '*chanclos*'

or '*zapatos de goma*.'" The parents then refer to *Appleton's New Cuyás Dictionary* and discover that overshoes are not found under "*chanclos*" nor under "*zapatos de goma*." (Neither is listed in the dictionary.) They will never believe the teacher again because in Trujillo's dictionary (1961), "*sobrechuses*" is defined as a localism and it means overshoes; to the people of Southern Colorado and Northern New Mexico, it is a proper word.

Pity the teacher who learned Spanish in college and has no other reference than Spanish professors and their dictionaries. A child comes to the teacher and says, "*Estas huercas me molestan mucho*." The teacher does not understand not having been taught the term "*huerca*." When the teacher learns what "*huerca*" means, he/she tells the child that "*huerca*" is not a proper term; and "*muchachas* or *muchachos*" should be used instead of "*huerca*." Again, the child is subtly told that his/her parents are wrong, and an inner conflict begins to develop within the child. Reference is made to Appleton's Spanish-English dictionary, "*huerca*" is not found, and the teacher assumes the word is incorrect. However, "*huerca*" is used in Northern Mexico and Texas and is found in Cerda *et al*. (1970) *Vocabulario Español de Texas* and in Vásquez and Vásquez (1975) *Regional Dictionary of Chicano Slang*. Consequently, the word is proper for people from Northern Mexico and Texas and could be used in Grand Rapids, Michigan, or California.

The point is that the teacher should not correct or criticize the child until the teacher knows the basis of the child's Spanish. The Spanish used by the child is based on the parent's and the community's usage of a word for communication, and the language

used by them is an acceptable alternative even if Spanish professors are not familiar with the terms used in local Chicano communities.

Spanish-speaking Chicanos living in this country have had to develop their own Spanish because of United States technological developments. Products and ideas went to Mexico, and by the time the correct word filtered back to the Southwest, local residents had already developed a word for it. A case in point is the term for overshoes; another example is the automobile. Chicanos picked up the word *car* from Anglos because *car* was used instead of *automobile*; hence, Chicanos developed the word "*carro*." By the time the word "*coche*" came from Mexico, "*carro*" was too ingrained in the Chicano vocabulary to be changed. Moreover, some things have many names. For example, the word for *turkey* can be "*pavo*" (Spanish) "*cocono*" or "*guajalote*" (Mexican-Indian) or "*gallina de la tierra*" (New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish). Which is correct? From Spain we got the word "*pavo*" (but the turkey is indigenous to this continent); the Indians of Mexico called it "*cocono*" and the Chicanos of New Mexico called it "*gallina de la tierra*."

As far as the teacher is concerned, the language the child brings to school should be the accepted one and the child should not be made to feel inferior by saying that he/she is wrong. At the same time, the child should be taught Spanish as it is used in other Spanish-speaking countries emphasizing that each country can use different words to mean the same thing.

Let's suppose that a teacher encounters a Chicano from East Los Angeles and asks the student to write something about

East Los Angeles in Spanish. The student writes:

THE LANGUAGE OF AZTLAN

> *Desde el porche de mi chante, en mi barrio de Estlos, Aztlan. Watcho a mis carnales cruziar por los caies rumbo a su cantones despues del jale: vatos cabuliando con su jainas, pachucos fuliando afuera de la marketa de Don Charlie, aguelitas con chavalios de la mano y un bonche de raza que sale de los boses que vienen del daontaon. Toda esta es mi Raza, alegre, orgullosa y muy jaladora aunque la placa siempre los este tisiando.* (Herrera, 1975, p. 42)

As Spanish-speaking Anglo teachers read this, they feel they are reading Spanish; but they can't understand what is being said because the language is totally unfamiliar to them, except that it appears to be Spanish. Herrera (1975) explains the passage:

> At first sight, the above paragraph appears to be written in Spanish, and it is, but upon finding words, such as "*porche*," "*chante*," "*watcho*," "*cruziar*," etc., we realize that, although these words have the Spanish morphology, the meaning escapes us unless we know the English language or better yet, unless we are Chicanos. (p. 42)

The above quote is written in Chicano Spanish, a variant dialect of Western areas where Chicanos live including Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and southwestern United States. Chicano Spanish has incorporated the English element in its structures, phonology, and semantics to the point of virtually converting this dialect into a language separate from the mother tongue: Mexican Spanish. The only other Spanish dialect that incorporates English in its structure is *Boricua* (Puerto Rican).

Chicano Spanish is the product of two languages in contact: American English and Mexican Spanish. We classify American English

as "pioneer English" spoken according to the social class to which this group belonged; Mexican Spanish is classified as "provincial Mexican Spanish," with all its archaisms from the period of Mexican independence to the great exodus of Mexicans to all parts of the United States, especially the Southwest.

The meeting of Anglo and Mexican in New Mexico began the interference of English that started to unite English and Spanish to the almost static New Mexican Spanish. In New Mexico we find the most rooted archaisms of the Spaniards, due in part to their long isolation from the most populated centers of the Republic of Mexico and consequently from its linguistic evolution. Chicano Spanish is also known by other terminologies as "*Pachucc*," "Spanglish," "bastard Spanish," and "Tex-Mex."

With the resurgence of a socio-economic consciousness on the part of Americans of Mexican descent the term "Chicano Spanish" came into use. All Mexicans that visit families on "this side" find themselves faced with heavy doses of Chicano Spanish that provokes varied reactions from laughter to consternation. But all try to correct the Spanish they hear without realizing that for some Chicanos, Mexican Spanish is incomprehensible unless they have had some formal instruction in Spanish.

Chicano Spanish is not only a product of two languages in contrast but also the influence of middle-class environment and the immediate realities of Chicano life. This reality is much different from that of the Mexican, even though it derives from it. In other words, Chicano speech has a strong relationship to all the factors that constitute social level and status as a

disadvantaged minority. Chicanos also speak of their "Spanish" according to their level of acculturation or assimilation to the Anglo-Saxon culture. There are Chicanos who cannot speak Spanish, although they can understand their parents and others perfectly, or who have never learned English but understand Chicano Spanish. This discrepancy in the levels of understanding is due, more or less, to the degree of contact with North American life.

Chicano Spanish is not a homogeneous dialect since variations do exist. The three principal dialects are: Tex-Mex, spoken in Texas; *Manito*, spoken in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado; and *Caló*, spoken in the *barrios* of California. Despite these variations, there is not much difference among them; of course there are problems as there are among the dialects of persons in Mexico City and those in the Yucatán.

Chicano Spanish has not been the subject of serious studies by linguists or researchers. It has been briefly viewed in a few studies as something picturesque. Some of its isolated factors are studied; but it has not been, until recently, studied as the language of communication for more than 10 million Chicanos. This is due to the American social concepts that exist about "bastard" or mixed languages without taking into account that the majority of modern languages began in such a way. In other words, Chicano Spanish has no prestige when placed side by side with Castilian or other variations of Spanish.

There are varied and curious positions with respect to Chicano Spanish. Some choose to erase it from the linguistic map, some ignore it, and still others conceive of it as a vehi-

cle by which to learn basic English or Spanish. After all, Chicano Spanish is the mother tongue of several million Chicanos and is the only link to the Mexican *mestizo* or Spanish culture. Chicano Spanish has always been a complex language. Children who learn this language as a natural thing and utilize it to communicate, sooner or later (usually in the first grade) receive a "shock" when they find the language is not accepted, that it carries a social stigma, and deviates from what is considered acceptable. Chicano children grow up with such a paranoia about their language that it might result in their being classified as mental retarded by educational institutions.

One might ask: Of what value is this knowledge? The value is in knowing Chicanos--"what makes them tick," "where they are coming from," or "where their head is at." When teachers know this, they can be much more effective in the classroom and improve the educational level of the Chicano. The Chicano is bilingual because of the social conditions in the United States, but the bilingualism derives from the fact of speaking two different languages although both are unacceptable; that is, Chicano English and Spanish in which the Chicano has not had formal education. The Chicano has learned Spanish from his/her parents and community. Recently, schools have tried to teach Chicanos through bilingual programs created by the necessity to increase their educational level. Unfortunately, the language used in these programs is "standard" Spanish, which leaves Chicano children confused because they are not taught in the language of their community. It is curious that these bilingual programs use Spanish only as a tran-

sition of the Chicano child to the English language and not for the purpose the program would imply--maintenance of language and culture.

Chicanos, now conscious of their cultural heritage, want to refine their Mexican heritage while at the same time redefining their Anglicization in order to improve their educational and economic situation. That is why they defend themselves against any attempt to strip them of language and culture through deceptions or transitional programs. The dual situation of the Chicano appears to be contradictory and paradoxical, but those accustomed to this duality live in a bilingual/bicultural environment.

Anglos who move from New York to California immediately sense a change in the life style of the West. Life seems to be less formal and less complex; Anglos attribute the change to the climate or other irrelevant factors. It doesn't occur to them that the main reason might be the influence left behind by the Spanish culture. Chicanos live this way with their own culture re-enforced by the environment and struggle so as not to be swallowed up by the dominant Anglo culture. By adopting the values of the two systems, which fluctuate with the easiest ambivalence, they defend themselves, always facing the danger, according to psychological studies, of becoming schizophrenic. This acceptance of a dual system of values predisposes the Chicano towards biconceptualism.

Biconceptualism is to have two culturally different concepts of the same word translated from one language to another. This also happens with English words that have double meanings.

The word "Christmas" is related to the Anglo concept of Santa Claus, the Christmas tree, business, and gifts. The word "*navidad*" is related to religion, family, the birth of Christ, grandparents who come to visit, and traditional foods. Therefore, "Christmas" and "*navidad*" do not have the same meaning even though one is the translation of the other. Perhaps this is why some Chicanos use "Christmas" when speaking instead of "*navidad*." The same situation exists with words such as "breakfast" and "*desayuno*," "neighborhood" and "*vecindad*," and many others. A more extensive study of psycholinguistics and comparative semantics might enlighten us further on this phenomena.

Until now, the point being clarified is that a Chicano can be traditional, duo-traditional, and atraditional relative to Mexico; and the amount of Spanish used or the knowledge of it depends on the tradition of the child. It can vary from no knowledge of Spanish to some knowledge of Spanish to complete knowledge of Spanish. Teachers need to know the level of the student before they can develop a teaching strategy for Chicanos.

Ramírez and Castañeda (1975) commented on language: "This area of study is dominated by Fishman's sociolinguistic survey in Jersey City (Fishman, *et al.*, 1968) and by Fishman's numerous articles on bilingualism (many of them collected in Fishman, 1972)" (p. 28). Fishman's main criticisms of researchers into bilingualism within the disciplines of psychology, linguistics, and sociology are that they have operated in isolation from scholars in the related fields and that they have taken a highly oversimplified view of language.

Ramírez and Castañeda (1975) continue citing Fishman when he argues for an interdisciplinary approach within the framework of sociolinguistic theory in which the domains of language behavior can be studied in an attempt to deal with the diversity of language within a speech-community. The domains that were studied in Jersey City were family, friendship, religion, education, and employment; but it is clear that the concept of domain need not be restricted to such global categories. Moreover, within each domain, as Fishman points out, there are role-relationships that are crucial or typical. Fishman's domains are a more formalized version of the situation or context studied by earlier investigators. Gumperz (1970) and Gumperz and Hernández (1971) show that language-switching among bilinguals does not occur only with the change of domain. Switching often occurs within the same domain for stylistic or emotional reasons. Gumperz points out that:

> *...it is not enough for teachers to be given a description of the language alone, it is also necessary for them to understand the ways in which language is used in the community,* since this may affect the learning situation.
>
> Since bilinguals and bidialectals rely heavily on code-switching as a verbal strategy, they are especially sensitive to the relationship between language and context. It would seem that they learn best under conditions of maximal contextual reinforcement. Sole concentration on the technical aspects of reading, grammar, and spelling may so adversely affect the learning environment as to outweigh any advantages to be gained. (Gumperz as cited by Ramírez and Castañeda, 1975, p. 29)

Gumperz's comment is not based on a systematic study of the school situation, but this factor could clearly be a significant one in helping to distinguish learning styles.

About 20 years ago, textbooks on foreign language teaching were often written in a rather dogmatic tone reflecting the confidence with which the authors portrayed their views. The prevailing emphasis was on habit formation; and the methods employed made extensive use of memorization, mimicry, and substitution drills. The use of the learner's own language was banned from the classroom, and grammatical explanations of any kind were proscribed.

The Spanish spoken in Texas, New Mexico, and East Los Angeles is the medium through which each group communicates, and I cannot overstress that it is a correct vehicle of communication for these groups. It must also be stressed that these same people can also communicate with people outside their own group, but within their group they feel more comfortable in using "their" language of Tex-Mex, *Manito*, or *Caló*; and this is the language that the children bring to school. Is it wrong?

Macnamara (1967) explains further:

> But it is not enough merely to list bilingual situations or to classify them according to their origins. One recurrent theme in this issue is that it is more important to ask what functions are served by each of the languages in a bilingual situation, and what settings and functions are considered appropriate to each by their speakers. Such questions, which for some time have been a major concern of sociolinguists, were given initial prominence by Charles A. Ferguson (1956) who not only described a particular type of bilingual situation, but coined the now popular term *diglossia* to describe it. Diglossia..."is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and

> respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or of another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation." (p. 3)

An example of diglossia is the coupling of Standard German and Swiss German in the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland. The entire adult population knows both varieties but employs them for distinct functions. In the decade since the appearance of Ferguson's article (1956), the term diglossia has been generalized to all situations in which a high or standard variety is employed for the purposes of more formal communication, and a low or relatively uncultivated variety is employed for the purposes of more intimate communication.

Researchers also stress further that both bilingualism and diglossia are best not considered in isolation but rather as salient examples of a capacity for code variation--also to be found among monolinguals. However, for the present purpose, the point to note is that several contributors advocate the use of a single theoretical model to handle all code variation whether monolingual or bilingual. This development is of great value in allowing us to see bilingual functioning in a much broader perspective than has previously been the case.

Mazón (1974) stated:

> The Spanish of the Mexican American is characterized by a variety of dialects, each unique to its population center, but which can be identified generally as the Spanish of the Southwestern United States. These dialects have usually been influenced by English and resemble linguistically the Spanish spoken in Northern Mexico. Because

> his language is basically Spanish and is built upon the Spanish sound system, a number of phonetic difficulties often beset the Mexican American in his attempts to learn English, and any effective reading program for Mexican American children will need to take these factors into account. (p. 5)

Mazón uses the following examples: The Chicano will often substitute [čuw] for *shoe* or /šer/ for *chair* because the Spanish sound system does not contrast [š] and [č]. They will often say [beriy] for *very* because the vowels [b] and [v] are often pronounced identically and they often ask, *"¿Chics o grande?"* Suppression of initial consonants, as in the substitution of *ónde* for *dónde* and *amá* for *mamá*, often takes place among Spanish speakers such as Puerto Ricans saying, *"nos comemos la S"*--thus, "*toy*" for "*estoy*," "*trechar*" for "*estrechar*." This phenomenon will carry over into English. Lastly, only five vowel phonemes are used in Spanish whereas approximately 16 are used in English.

The grammatical structures of the two languages also have some pronounced differences. For example, the question, "Where did you come from?" when translated is "*¿De dónde vienes?*" (From where come you?). The verb-noun pattern of "*Es un hombre*" must be equated with the pronoun-verb-noun pattern of "He is a man." "*El sombrero negro*" literally translated is "the hat black." "*¿Está abierta la puerta?*" (Is the door open?) literally translated reads "Is open the door?" The use of the double negative is very common in Spanish. Hence, you will often hear Mexican-American children say, "There's not nothing to eat" as they attempt to translate "*No hay nada para comer.*"

Awareness of the language the children bring to school and the interference that it will give rise to in their learning of English will provide teachers with an understanding of the children's difficulties and enable teachers to give them more adequate instruction.

How does one know what obstacles the child will be subjected to? Horn (1970) enumerates four factors that contribute to the failure or retardation of the linguistically different learner:

1. Widespread ignorance on the part of practitioners concerning principles of language learning, for example, the erroneous belief that standard speech is attained by the memorization of rules of grammar.

2. Frequent introduction of the decoding phase of initial reading instruction before adequate oral language development has occurred.

3. Inadequate or nonexistent tests for assessing phonological and syntactical problems and oral language fluency in American English.

4. Teachers' inability or failure to diagnose and remedy oral language deviations that seriously inhibit learning to read in Standard American English. (p. 7)

The passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 brought about a rush of crash programs to educate children in two languages. The immediate problem presented for Chicano children was the practice of labeling them "bilingual" for the purposes of second-language instruction. Because a student's name was García or because the child spoke "broken English," it was assumed that the comfortable language was Spanish; no real assessment was made.

Arvizu, an anthropologist, explains the Chicano language from the viewpoint of anthropology:

> Language, like culture, is a word which conveys different meanings to different people. Having similar understandings of meanings of words is crucial to eliminating miscues between one who sends messages and one who receives messages. Often one's background affects the meaning carried by such a word as language. For the purposes of this paper, language means very simply "a system of communication."
>
> Some basic qualities and uses of language are:
>
> 1. All human languages are capable of describing events past, present, and future, of action and events never before seen.
>
> 2. All human languages are capable of dealing in abstracts allowing for speculation and theorizing.
>
> 3. Most importantly, language is one method through which culture is transmitted from one generation to another. (1974, p. 22)

If we were to answer the question, "What language do most people in the United States speak?" we would be forced to recognize that there are many systems of communicating--verbal and nonverbal. Even in looking at English as one system, we know that sub-systems vary with dialects--geographically, occupationally, and socially. Similarly, if we were to look at the language of Chicanos, we would have to recognize the heterogeneous nature and the wide range that exists linguistically throughout *La Raza* in the United States.

Variations in language (dialects) are normal. Throughout history, we see that the manner of communicating in one particular area will, for one reason or another, gain more prestige than that used in other areas. The greater the prestige, the more desirable it becomes to learn or use that dialect. However, greater prestige is not the same as universal appropriateness. In the case

of the Chicano, the "standard Spanish" from Spain, Mexico, New Mexico, etc., has been imposed on many as the power dialect. Anything less than that has had less prestige and has been labeled as sub-standard or incorrect. *Pochismos* have mistakenly been signs of the uneducated. Educators have missed a most important understanding--if two or more people communicated, their language system has validity. In the Southwest, millions of people use a dialect or dialects of Spanish, and their system of communication is legitimate for their purposes. In fact, public servants who work in barrios are inadequately trained when they study only "standard" Spanish.

A common misconception in regard to language that is basically "racist" in orientation is that one language is superior or inferior to another. It is perfectly natural for each person to perceive his/her language as a sufficient means for communication with others. In analysis of speech standards, Bloomfield (1974) proposes that in language form there is neither "good" nor "bad." It is even understandable that a language is maintained by assuming a very culturally nationalistic and linguocentric posture.

> Since one's language is so intimately bound up with one's nationality and the self, it is common for emperors--large and small--and empires to try to impose their language on their subjects. Through ignorance of how and why languages are learned, history is full of cases where a struggle between the dominant power to impose its language and the dominated nation to resist it and preserve its own language develops into bitter hatred that flares up intermittently and smolders for centuries. The many attempts to impose a language on a subjugated people by direct pressure have been resisted vigorously and have largely failed. Languages last longer than empires. (Bloomfield, as cited by Arvizu, 1974, p. 23)

For many Chicanos, the strategy has been to push for Spanish as a medium of instruction and Spanish as a content area for bilingual/bicultural education in the curriculum.

School systems are basically monolingual and culturally undemocratic. That some Chicanos can function well in such a system does not mean that they have equality of educational opportunity, because in some schools it is assumed that teaching in a language other than English is "un-American."

Bilingual education seems to offer some hope of reorganizing schools and offering alternative plans for instruction. In fact, bilingual education can offer to non-Spanish speakers that which the Chicano has had for decades: the opportunity to learn the language and culture of another group of people. Respect for differences can be encouraged by giving priority in education to learning the languages and cultures of other groups. This can be done in many communities with local Chicanos. We need not go to Cuernavaca, Mexico to accomplish this.

According to Sapir, human beings are very much at the mercy of the particular language that has become the medium of expression for their society. Benjamin Lee Whorf presents the theory that language is an influencing factor and shapes the process of perceptual and unconscious thought. The concept of linguistic determinism tells that our thinking is shaped by the language we speak. Hoijer adds:

> Linguistic patterns inescapably limit sensory perceptions and thought, and together with other cultural patterns, they direct perception and thinking into certain habitual channels. (Hoijer, as cited by Arvizu, 1974, p. 25)

Arvizu (1974) uses the following examples: The expression in Spanish, "*Cada cabeza es un mundo*" tells us that people live in different worlds of reality. In addition, the expression, "*Hablar dos idiomas es ser dos personas*" denotes that people who speak two languages can have two worlds in the sense that the languages they speak affect both their sensory perceptions and their habitual modes of thought.

It is possible to look at structural differences in language to compare ways of life. For the purpose of illustration, we can look at Spanish and English and briefly analyze how they deal with the value of interpersonal relationships to show how linguistic patterns, sensory perceptions, and interpretations of reality are related.

The first example deals with the matter of courtesy among Chicanos. The Chicano movement tells us to, "Respect your neighbor, but only let him mess over you once; if he does it a second time, you got to get it on." One exception to this is César Chávez who says, "Turn the other cheek." In looking at the "respect your neighbor" portion of the above sentence, let us scrutinize Spanish and the concept of courtesy.

In looking at a particular social event (introducing yourself to someone), it can be seen that Spanish differs from English in how respect for the other person is treated linguistically. In English, "My name is John Doe; I'm pleased to meet you" suffices. By contrast, the Chicano might say, "*Permítame presentarme, Fulano de tal, a sus órdenes*" (Permit me to present myself; at your orders). A number of expressions denote that the other person is more important when introducing yourself, i.e., "*a sus órdenes*,"

"*para servirle*," "*su servidor*," and "*a la orden*." To translate these expressions would make them sound stilted in English (at your service, your servant, etc.), yet they are very natural in Spanish. A cross-cultural look at introductions (Japanese and other non-Western cultures have an elaborate system) shows that those who speak Spanish are not deviants in this regard.

The expression, "*Vamos a comer*" or "*Vamos a echar un trago*" denotes more than "Let's go eat" or "Let's go have a drink." In Spanish, the person doing the inviting is assuming responsibility for paying; in English it's a "dutch treat," unless otherwise stated.

Arvizu's experience (1974) is used in the following example. After meeting a young couple at the theatre, a group of us were invited by a young man "*a tomar una taza de café*." Of the 20 in the group, only a few were native speakers of Spanish. Looking around, I noticed that the native speakers of Spanish, myself included, had ordered coffee or tea, which sells for two pesos (22 United States cents). All the others, monolinguals from the United States, had ordered mixed drinks costing about 20 pesos. It was obvious when the check came that the young man who had invited us was not going to relinquish his unstated obligation to pay. The Anglos had thought that they were going to pay for their own drinks individually or put in a fair amount toward the check, and accordingly they ordered several drinks. They had not understood that the Mexican who had invited us would lose face if he allowed them to pay for their own portion of the bill. The concept of "*yo invito*" is literally translatable linguistically but not culturally.

Let us consider a visit to someone's home. "*Aquí tienes tu casa*" utilizes the familiar, friendly form, making the invitation more personal than "my home is your home." A Mexican family with whom I once lived told me that they didn't understand when a *Norteamericano* had used the phrase, for most say it without really meaning it.

With the Anglo it is understood that one calls before visiting so that the house can be cleaned up or something special made for dinner. In some Mexican homes your are invited to sit down and partake of something--water, coffee, food, etc. In such homes, one very seldom leaves without having received something from the family. You are extending a part of yourself to your guests by offering friendship and hospitality. Some Anglos when offered something that they don't like, simply say, "No, thank you." The appropriate and polite thing to do would be to accept, even if you don't really want to. Even structurally in Spanish the "thank you" would come first, "*Gracias, no.*"

One gains more insight into how some Spanish-speaking people view courtesy by looking at terms and expressions used by the group. The Spanish language has four different ways of saying "you": familiar-singular, familiar-plural, formal-singular, and formal-plural. In English one form is used in most situations. As the chief instrument of communication, language attaches words and phrases to the most frequent and most important cultural meanings.

The training that a fieldworker receives can be useful for teachers in making them less ethnocentric and more sensitive culturally. An adequate educational program for culturally different

persons must provide teacher training and in-service training that prepares teachers to meet expected educational challenges successfully. Along with content and discipline, consideration and mastery of language patterns, family structures, the economic situation, and other cultural factors evident in the learner's way of life should be required of teachers. This is especially true in the case of Chicanos. In California, Chicanos are the largest ethnic minority and are increasing. Indeed, it is in our best interest, critical to the common, that more teachers receive adequate training.

Ulibarri (1974) states:

> Language as the determinant of or as an influence on man's cognition and perception comes about due to the very nature of its definition. Language is a limited group of words and forms whose availability enables man to think and express himself in the medium of that language. The lack of a means to do a job such as thinking and expression attest to the fact that the job will not be accomplished as well as if the meanings were available to him. Another element that serves to point to the fact that linguistic distinctions often reinforce cultural experience and vice versa. A person does not simply see social action, record it, and repeat it accurately. He sees the action in terms of his linguistically acquired knowledge, classifies it linguistically and acts in terms of what he perceives through this linguistic screen. Evidence of this indicated by a study of the interaction of language, topic, and listener where the combination of a receiver and a topic reflecting cultural experiences almost always demands the use of the language of the culture regardless of the fluency of the bilingual involved. (pp. 3-4)

The theoretical basis for the idea that language is a determinant of perception was first put forth by Sapir:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social reality as understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. (Sapir as cited by Ulibarri, 1974, p. 5)

He further adds:

> It is the vocabulary of a language that most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers. The complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the community. (Sapir, as cited by Ulibarri, 1974, p. 5)

Whorf agrees with Sapir on the relationship of language and perception:

> The linguistic system of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, rather, it is the *shape of ideas, the program guide for the individual's mental activity for his analysis of impressions,* for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. (Emphasis added. Whorf, as cited by Ulibarri, 1974, p. 25)

Gastil agrees that language and thought go together and that language is an important part of being bicultural:

> At any one time, language offers its current users certain tools of expression, *certain distinctions of thought* and certain areas of preciseness and vagueness which, whatever may be their origin in the cultures of his ancestors, may be hypothesized to *determine to a considerable degree the nature of this thought*

> *today*. (Emphasis added. Gastil, 1974, cited by Ulibarri, 1974, p. 25)

Palomares, a child psychologist with the Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, in San Diego, California, gives his views. He is concerned with education for the Chicano child specifically from the view of its psychological effects. He considers the identity of the Chicano child and points to elements in the Chicano psychological makeup that affect the child's different psychological values when entering the Anglo school. Palomares' reactions to the language of the Chicano child are:

> There are three dimensions to the language set of the Chicano, and they all have resulted in negative psychological effects in this country. The first dimension is that of the Spanish language itself. In this country a negative attitude has been developed about Spanish. It is not a prestige language, for example, as French is. A person is not considered distinguished because he can speak Spanish. When ordering in a restaurant it may be considered elegant to order in French, but not in Spanish. Spanish is not greatly honored in America. (1974, p. 2)

The second aspect of the language characteristic is that the Chicano child doesn't speak "pure Spanish." In the home the child learns neither standard Spanish nor standard English but a mixture. This mixture--*pochismo*, Mex-Tex, or Spanglish--is not only looked down upon by the Anglo power structure but by the Mexican power structure as well. Although the parents of a Chicano child may speak *pochismo* themselves, they are ashamed and apologetic about it. In the schools, all measurement of achievement is based on one of the two standard languages. Communication is also in one of these two languages; the child is proficient in neither. It thus becomes frustrating for the Chicano child to communicate

verbally.

The Chicano also develops a negativism about the way he/she speaks English, even if it is standard. The child will probably have a Spanish accent, and that in itself brings discrimination. An educated Mexican-American may have difficulty getting a teaching job because of a Spanish accent, even though a person with a heavy Southern drawl will have no trouble getting a job in the same place. The experiences that a Chicano has with Spanish, English, and Spanglish may result in the wearing away of his/her self-esteem.

The monolingual (English) teacher and the Spanish puritan professor attempt to justify their inadequate teaching of the Chicano by saying that the Chicano child does not know English or Spanish. That the child is functional in communicating in the community and to parents seems to escape monolingual teachers.

Carter (1970) stated:

> Another point of view relative to the "language problem" is the widely held belief that many Mexican American children are essentially alingual, not truly speaking any language. Whether they are monolingual in Spanish or English, or bilingual, language ability is considered deficient. Research on the language patterns and usage of children who come from low-status homes and are English monolinguals at school entrance may be pertinent (see Bernstein, 1961; 1962). There is little doubt that the language spoken in low-status Mexican American homes, whether it is Spanish or English, is indeed different from that spoken by "educated" people. However, rarely do studies of social class and language usage take the stance that many educators do--that is, that language difference is language deficiency. Rather, such studies describe the situation. Schoolmen imply that the "language problem" is a prime deter-

> minant of school failure, instead of recognizing that school practices demanding standard (middle-class) English ability are at least partially responsible. As one authority argues, the child has no language problem, the school does--that is, it expects, if not demands, rapid language growth from a base that often is quite different from that of the average middle-class child. (pp. 51-52)

As I teach bilingual education teachers, I continually stress that they must know who the student is, the level or knowledge of Spanish, and the type of Spanish used. I also emphasize that every child speaks the language of the family and community. It is for the reason that I stress community involvement in bilingual education. Only the parents of our students can tell educators the child's needs. Education of Chicanos is too important to leave to traditional educators.

Consider this analogy: We take our child to a doctor because of an ingrown toenail. The doctor does not listen to the parent and instead removes the child's appendix. The child leaves the hospital minus an appendix but still limping because of the ingrown toenail. Most of us would not condone this. We would insist that the doctor listen to us and cure the child's ingrown toenail. Yet, we educators often do not listen to parents in regards to the child's needs. Educators must first learn what the problem is in terms of who the student is. What community does the child come from? What Spanish is used, if any. If the child speaks English, what level and what form does it take? Many other questions need to be asked. We cannot answer these questions without allowing community input. This means total community representation because each *barrio* and neighborhood is different from one another.

Barker (1972) gives us an insight into the community of Tucson, Arizona--its language and its implications. Barker points to a number of "special derivations" that may be considered social functions of language:

> 1. Language as a form of socialization. This would include the service of communication between members of a group, the service of a common dialect or subform of language as a symbol of social solidarity, and the service of establishing rapport between members of a physical group.
>
> 2. Language as a culture preserving instrument, whereby cultural forms are transmitted from generation to generation.
>
> 3. Language as a factor in the growth of individuality, or development of social personality.
>
> 4. Language as a declaration of the psychological place held by the various members of the group. (1972, p. 2)

The first main function of language is defining the group as a group. The second main social function of language is to define social relations within the group. A third important social function of language is to define the character of the interpersonal relations between individuals.

According to Barker (1972) four main variants of Spanish are spoken in Tucson. These are (considered in the order of their popularity): (1) southern Arizona Spanish, (2) standard Mexican, (3) *Pachuco*, (4) the Yaqui-dialect Spanish.

Southern Arizona Spanish has many points in common with the type of Spanish spoken by the Hispano-American of New Mexico, especially near the New Mexican state line and in mining towns such as Morenci. Older speakers of both dialects use many archaic forms brought to the New World during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Due to the isolation of these speakers, the dialect has changed in locally limited ways and has not been subject to the leveling effect of the standard language. Examples of the more common of these old forms include: "*binido*" for "*venido*" (past participle of *venir*, to come), and "*durmir*" and "*durmido*" for "*dormir*" (to sleep) and "*dormido*."

In addition to its archaic forms, another outstanding characteristic of southern Arizona Spanish is its heavy use of *pochismos* such as "*porche*" for "porch." These forms are used most frequently by younger speakers, but older persons are by no means free of them. Expressions are also borrowed and transposed by the young and old alike. Barker (1972) offers examples of how phrases are changed (translations are added):

> A priest told the writer that children making confession to him told him that they had "*hablado para atrás*" (*Hablar sin respecto*--talked back to) their elders. A teacher of Mexican descent said she sometimes used the expression "*me agarró el chivo*" (*me ase corajuda*--he got my goat). Joe Uno, fixing a window-lever on his car, told the writer "*está fuera de órden*" (*está desalineado*--it's out of order). And Old Grandpa *Cincuenta* wrote in a letter to the author "*tubieron muy buen tiempo*" (*se divirtieron*--they had a very good time). (pp. 25-26)

A third and increasingly prominent characteristic of southern Arizona Spanish is the tendency of its speakers to rely almost entirely on the familiar verb endings (second person) even though they may not know the person to whom they are speaking. This is especially true among younger speakers. A boy goes up to a soft-drink stand, for example, and asks, "*¿Qué tienes*?" (What do you have?) although he may never have seen the girl who waited

on him before. The girl, in turn, may ask the customer, "*¿Qué quieres*?" (What do you want?) The explanation is that children may not use the polite forms when talking to strangers because their parents did not teach them; when the children are the right age to learn the polite form, they go to school and learn the American forms instead. Yet, these same Chicano children talk to their parents in the polite form.

To describe the type of standard Spanish spoken in Tucson is perhaps an oversimplification, since the Republic of Mexico is divided into at least five main dialect areas. The northern Sonora area may be regarded as a subregion of one of these major areas. Four other areas, each characterized by similarly distinct differences in accent and vocabulary, are outlined by the Mexican linguist, Henríquez Ureña (1938, xvii-xx, as cited by Barker, 1972): the Central comprising the highlands of central Mexico; the South including Morelos, Guerrero, and Oaxaca; the Mexican Gulf coast comprising Tamaulipas, Veracruz, Tabasco, and Campeche; and the Yucatán region.

Of these five areas, the Central is the one that best describes the standard of Mexico, since it is the area in which Mexico City is situated--the one with the greatest prestige. Yet, many speakers in Mexico City also use *pachucismos* such as "*ese*." Of course, the Spanish of Mexico City has many features in common with the Spanish of the Mexican provinces, which distinguishes Mexican Spanish from Castilian. Perhaps the main ones are "*yeismo*," the lack of distinction between the "ll" and "y"; "*seseo*," failure to distinguish the "c" before "e" and "i" from

the sibilant sound of "s"; and the many words of Nahuatl origin like *cocono* and *tamal*.

However, the most interesting features of the Spanish of Mexico City are those serving to distinguish it from the northern Sonoran dialect and the southern Arizona dialect. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the standard intonation patterns of Mexico City Spanish differing from the "rustic" patterns of Sonora, which some writers have described as "clipped." Much of the Western United States language was developed from the rustic and colloquial speech of "cowboys and pioneers." This same type of development occurred in Sonora giving it a "rustic" or "clipped" pattern. The Spanish of the Central area contains relatively few archaisms, and has been influenced more by the classical forms introduced into Spain in the 17th and 18th centuries. Cuervo (as cited by Barker, 1972) notes that in early times there was not the great distance between the "cultured" and "popular" language that later developed under the influence of classical studies. He adds that in books written at the time of the Conquest many forms appeared that are still heard among the common folk of Columbia and other Latin American countries. In contrast to southern Arizona Spanish, there is a stricter use of formal Spanish between individuals who are not on intimate terms with each other. For a clerk in Mexico City to use familiar Spanish to a customer, for example, would be grossly insulting. Whereas in Sonora the familiar terms are used more--they are more "*renegados*."

Pachuco, a third variant of Spanish spoken in Tucson, might almost be described as a separate language, since it is hardly more intelligible to Spanish-speaking people than it is to English-speaking people. The speakers of *Pachuco* are very largely young Chicanos who move in lower-class social circles. However, post World War II adults also speak *Pachuco* Spanish; only people 50 or 60 years and older have not been affected by this language. After all, it was the fashion to speak it in the late 1940's.

Many adult Chicanos living outside the barrios have little or no knowledge of *Pachuco*. A middle-class woman of Mexican descent who teaches high school Spanish told Barker (1972) that prior to his investigation, she had never known that a *Pachuco* dialect existed, though she was born in Arizona and was thoroughly familiar with the *pochismos* and other expressions characteristic of southern Arizona Spanish. Similarly, a Mexican-American clerk of the County Probation Office said that, accustomed as she was to dealing with other Spanish-speaking people in Tucson, she found it next to impossible to understand the speech of *Pachuco* gang members.

As an argot of youth, *Pachuco* borrows heavily from Mexican *and* American slang. It is perhaps this latter element of its vocabulary that make it so difficult for Mexican speakers to understand. Words like "*chante*" (shanty) and "*flica*" (flick, movies) reflect American slang origin, while "*guaino*" (wino) and "*rolante*" (automobile) indicate the Hispanicization and adaptation of English words.

Other prominent characteristics of *Pachuco* are its use of a sonorous and pompous accent, its exclusive reliance on the

informal verb forms of Spanish, and its use of gestures and signs to supplement its vocabulary. In general, it may be said that *Pachuco* aims to be an exclusive language. The *Pachuco* group rejects the cultural norms of both Anglo and Mexican groups for intimate and informal relations and substitutes those of its own, drawn from anti-social aspects of both cultures.

> In addition to the basic premise of the bilingual ability of the speaker and hearer, then we find that the following factors are associated with the choice of Spanish or English in any given situation:
>
> 1. Type of interpersonal relationship involved: intimate or formal, familial or economic, and so forth.
>
> 2. Subject context; what is being discussed.
>
> 3. Social context; presence or absence of Anglos or of other Mexicans, home environment, work environment, and so forth. (Barker, 1972, p. 33)

Of course, in any given conversation, two or more of these factors may be operating simultaneously.

The theories discussed have in common that different individuals are affected by different aspects of the social environment and in turn produces differences in motivation. This generalization suggests the following statement as an operating hypothesis: Differences in linguistic and social behavior between individuals in the same family may be correlated with differences in cultural orientation. In some large families, the older children are taught the language of the parents, but as the parents become older they fail to teach the rest of the children proper Spanish. This orientation will vary according to the goal which, by means of

social experience, an individual will find accessible.

> In a bilingual minority group in process of cultural change the functions originally performed by the ancestral language are divided between two or more languages, with the result that each language comes to be identified with certain specific fields of interpersonal relations. Thus for each individual, language takes on symbolic values which vary according to the individual's social experience. The character of this experience, in turn, depends on, first, the position of the minority group in the general community; second, the relation of the individual to the bilingual group; and, third, the relation of the individual to the general community.
>
> 1. The individual's pattern of linguistic behavior is congruent with his system of interpersonal relations.
>
> 2. The group's pattern of linguistic behavior is congruent with its system of interpersonal relations.
>
> 3. The linguistic systems of the bilingual individual and group may be used as indices to the conditions of assimilation and acculturation in the area studied. (Barker, 1971, pp. 23-24)

This quotation shows why the middle-class Chicana teacher of high school Spanish didn't know that *Pachuco* was used, why the probation officer could not understand *Pachuco* gang members, and why the older community members did not know the *Pachuco* language. Yet bilingual programs establish advisory groups to represent the community composed of the people described above. Are they really representative of the community? Should the *Pachuco*-speaking youth be included in advisory groups?

Representatives of a community should be from the total community if we are to reach the student. Admittedly, the *Pachuco* language is not very common; however, other slang is

used. Educators should be knowledgeable of it to better serve Chicano children. How many teachers know the definitions of: "bread," "heavy," "bad," "together," and many other slang words? The *Pachuco* language is dying--or is it? How many middle-aged Chicanos still use the words, "*ese*," (hi) "*órale carnal*," (hey brother) "*cantón*," (house) and "*simón*," (yes) (Fuentes and López, 1974). Yet, as the *Pachuco* language dies a slow death, our youth are developing new languages and words as we older folks are just learning the current usage of their words. Therefore, it is necessary to include the total community in advisory councils and committees.

SUMMARY

This paper may have only confused the reader more. It is not within the scope of this paper to put questions to rest but to make bilingual educators think. We can no longer assume that every brown-faced child or Spanish-surnamed child is the same--"Each mind is a world of its own." Therefore, the teacher should question and research to try and find the answers. In the past we did not question; and after teaching 20 years, we found that we had been teaching one year 20 times! We cannot afford to let this happen in bilingual education. We must teach 20 years, and each year must be an improvement over the previous one. Only then can we upgrade the educational level of the Chicano to parity with that of the Anglo.

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